DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 050 317 AC 010 287

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TITLE An Experiment in Civic Education in Ghana.
INSTITUTION African Adult Education Association, Lusaka (Zambia).
PUB DATE Apr 71
NOTE 47p.; Paper presented at Conference of the African Adult Education Association (3rd, Univ. of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, April 19-24, 1971)

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS *Adult Education, *Citizen Role, *Developing Nations, *Political Socialization, *Public Affairs Education
IDENTIFIERS Ghana

ABSTRACT

The Centre for Civic Education has as its chief objective educating the populace of Ghana in social, economic, and political subjects. To effect this, the country is divided into 9 regions, made up of 51 districts, with 2 organizers per region. A board of Trustees acts as the Centre's governing body. The work of the Centre is organized into programs. Three programs have been completed: (1) the moral and social aspects of democracy, (2) constitutional proposals made by the Constitutional Commission with particular emphasis on human rights, and (3) problems of local government. All programs are directed to both the literate and the illiterate, the urban and the rural citizen, the young and the old. Teaching techniques used are lectures, discussion groups, debates, symposia, puppet shows, and plays. Audiovisual aids are used extensively, with the material presented in both English and the major vernaculars. The Centre aims to become completely self-supporting in the near future. (Page 20 will reproduce poorly in hard copy because of poor legibility.) (DB)

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The Centre for Civic Education was established in a television broadcast on June 7, 1967, by Lt.-Gen.J.A.Ankrah, then Chairman of the National Liberation Council (N.L.C.), the governing body of soldiers and policemen who had seized power from Kwame Nkrumah in February the previous year. In this broadcast the Chairman of the N.L.C. gave reasons for establishing the Centre, linking the need for such a Centre to the political background of the time and especially to the reasons for overthrowing the Nkrumah regime. He also defined the work of the Centre, lay down its constitutional structure and named the members of the first Board of Trustees. Two days later, in an Introductory Statement read to a press conference, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees elaborated on the motivating idea of the Centre, the philosophy that was to animate its work, and described the manner in which the Centre was to operate.

The Underlying Idea:

The main idea that motivated the setting up of the Centre for Civic Education and continues to animate its work is at once simple and complex. Simple because it can be laid down in simple terms, as it was in the inaugural broadcast; and complex because of its many, perhaps even endless, ramifications. In his inaugural broadcast the Chairman of the N.L.C. said the main objectives of the Centre were to provide education in:

(a) democratic rights and responsibilities; and

(b) ideals of public service, integrity, tolerance and belief in those other values which constitute a firm foundation for a free society.

The inaugural broadcast and the introductory statement by the Chairman of the Board were mostly dovoted to the expansion of this basic idea.

A compelling motive for the coup of February, 1966, according to the Chairman of N.L.C., was a desire to establish a "truly democratic society". In such a society everyone, regardless of his position in life, is able to enjoy real freedom, exercise his rights without fear of victimization, and hold independent political views without danger to his life or property. There is in such a society respect for basic human rights and the citizens enjoy the fullest opportunity for a useful and creative life. This type of society is incompatible with political and ideological regimentation or systematic indoctrination. This was the vision of a truly democratic society as seen by the Chairman of the N.L.C. and such is therefore the vision of the society which the Centre has been set up to promote.

Such a society was distinguished in both the inaugural broadcast and introductory statement from Ghanaian society under the C.P.P. The latter was characterized by a degeneration in attitudes and social values; virtual absence of a spirit of service; corruption in public organisations, and "total disregard for all that we hold dear in our traditional life." There was fear, suspicion and distrust, a situation in which it is not possible for democracy to thrive. One particularly bad feature of political life in Ghanaian society under the C.P.P. was the flagrant rigging of elections, whereby votes cast at elections turned out to outnumber the registered voters and whole constituencies were reported to have voted unanimously in a major national referendum.

The character of Ghanaian society under the C.P.P. in its political aspect may be further delineated in order to show more clearly the type of society the Centre is dedicated to fostering. This was a society in which critical thought was at a discount and a heavy premium was put on conformity. Authority knew the answers to the country's problems, and there was no need, no encouragement to apply one's instructed

judgement to the problems of the country. It was indeed a dangerous thing to contradict the pronouncements of authority, beneficent, all-knowing and all-wise. The omniscience of authority was however encapsulated in a rigid socialist ideology which was like a juke-box: you threw in your coin and the desired music was produced with mechanical precision. The exposition of the ideology was the exclusive preserve of one man, and his pronouncements therefore acquired the status of a revelation. So certain was he of the correctness of his answers, infallible products of pure reason and a blameless heart, that only wicked perverters of the public good or morons could fail to agree with him. Clearly, such people were a danger to the public welfare and had to be suppressed, silenced, exiled or locked behind bars. The media of mass communication could of course not be put at the disposal of such as these, nor could they be used to publicize their cause. With critical faculties numbed and expression of dissent made illegal, adulation and sycophancy could not but be developed into a fine art. Two legs gradually became good and four legs bad. It was the classical anti-theses of a liberal-democratic society, and it was and still is the duty of the Centre for Civic Education to restore the original thesis.

The Chairman of the Board of Trustees in his introductory statement stressed the quality of individual life underlying the democratic life. Since there were several sides to every question, men living in a democratic society had to learn to look at questions and examine different opinions without flying at one another's throats. Men had to learn to admit their mistakes and apologize for wrongs done, even though they might be in authority. The individuals, in a democratic system much more than in any other system, had to develop mutual trust and respect and learn to co-operate with other citizens. Above all, the individual in a democratic society had to inculcate a very essential

quality of democratic life: tolerance. In the words of the Chairman,

> "Democracy rests on the fundamental assumption that all men are fallible; no one knows everything; no one is right all the time; the best of men make mistakes themselves; hence we have to learn to be tolerant, and to be ready to examine ideas different from our own."

With tolerance went freedom of action in a democratic society. But there could be no social order without some restraints on the individual in the interest of the common good. Democracy aimed at reducing these restraints to a minimum. Democracy therefore had to develop institutions for taming power, and for subjecting those set in authority to responsible criticism and checks. Such institutions included the party system, the organised opposition, the Press, the Rule of Law and an independent Judiciary.

In the Ghanaian context what specific lessons, ideas and practices had to be taught by the Centre in order to realize the democratic society delineated above? The Ghanaian citizen needed to be taught that politics must be played in a clean and decent manner; that one's political opponent was not an enemy in war; and that a political party was not a tribal, religious, or regional organisation. The Centre had to stimulate public awareness and to let the people appreciate their civic rights and responsibilities; to become aware that the individual should not be subjected to the whims and caprices of government but that as a citizen he should have some basic and inalienable rights before the law and/a number of civic responsibilities. The Centre was also to inculcate in the electorate the ability to make sound and informed judgements on national issues, which ability was considered a necessary precondition for the functioning of the democratic process.

Democracy was not seen in only political terms by the founders of the Centre for Civic Education. In his introductory statement the Chairman of the Centre stressed that the contemporary view of the state was that it concerned itself with all aspects of the life of man from the cradle to the grave, embracing the care and education of the young, training and employment of the adult, the living standards and social conditions of all, the use of leisure, and the care of the handicapped, the sick and the aged. The success of democracy, he emphasized, depended not only on the government but also on the work done by everyone everywhere: in the home, factory, shop, office, market-place or farm. The manner in which the work was done was also of importance in the maintenance of democracy. Discipline, efficiency, honesty, courtesy at our work-places and in our everyday relations with one another were all vital to democracy. Democracy indeed was a way of life founded on respect for every human being:

> "It reflects the history, the culture and the values of a country; it is manifested in the day-to-day life and activities of a community, and in all its social relations, in home or school or public place, between government officials and the public, in the general moral atmosphere of the society, and in the quality of the individual citizen."

The democracy that was to be inculcated in the country was to be exemplified in relation to the Centre itself. An organisation like the Centre has great potentialities for good or evil. Its aims and objectives could be easily perverted if it fell under the influence under any powerful group, and if this happened it would cease being an instrument of democratic education and turn into an agency for political regimentation and ideological indoctrination.

It was realized from the very beginning therefore that the Centre required "independence of thought and approach" for its effective operation, that if it is to develop in the electorate the ability to make sound and informed judgements then it must itself be an independent institution providing education and information without bias, and without fetters.

It is clear, then, that the "political education" which it is the duty of the Centre for Civic Education to disseminate is neither merely political nor a narrow type of ideological indoctrination. The Centre's work embraces all aspects of Ghanaian society, and what it teaches is not what is accepted only by a group in the society struggling for power and using it in its pursuit of power. It disseminates the underlying ideas of the country's constitution accepted by all political parties operating in the country. The flexibility with which the Centre approaches its objectives comes out in its programmes.

Programmes:

The work of the Centre revolves around programmes worked out in advance and reflecting the many sided nature of the Centre's functions. Initially the work was divided into three phases. The first phase concentrated on the theme "Human Relations in our Community". Under this the Centre tried to educate the electorate or the citizens in the right social relations that should exist in an ordered community, but particularly in an ordered democratic society. Relations between public officers and the public, relations within the family, and relations between groups were all widely discussed on public platforms, in discussion groups, in newspapers and on the radio and television. This first stage was essentially designed to teach the moral and social aspects of democracy. The second stage centred on a study of the constitutional proposals made by the Constitutional Commission with particular emphasis on fundamental human

rights. As part of this, a detailed study of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was undertaken. It was hoped that this would provide an informed public opinion on the constitutional proposals and that it would be a valuable background to the discussions that were to take place in the Constituent Assembly, which was to give the country a final draft Constitution. Side by side with this the Centre assisted the Electoral Commission in the Registration exercise, which was to result in a new registration of voters for elections for a return to civilian rule. The third phase was to be a wide-ranging study of the specific social, economic and political problems that the new democratic experiment in the country was to face. The purpose of the third phase was to create an informed public opinion as an integral part of civilian politics, to create public awareness of the rights and responsibilities of the citizen entailed in democratic government, and to encourage the general mass of the citizens to participate in the social, political and economic reconstruction of the country.

The first two programmes were carried through successfully. The Registration campaign indeed expanded into a full programme in itself and merged with the Election campaign which started soon after the lifting of the ban on political parties in May, 1969. The Centre's role in the Election campaign was to educate people in factors that should influence their vote, the need for voting for honest and informed candidates and to discriminate between parties. Apart from this the Centre also tried in this campaign to educate both the political parties and the electorate in the nature of democratic political warfare. It was dinned incessantly into the heads of the electorate that one's political opponent was not one's enemy and that therefore abuses, insults, intolerance and violence formed no part of a campaign for democratic elections.

Unfortunately, before the second stage of the long-term strategy had been completed the Board of Trustees had been dissolved and the Chairman had resigned. An interim Executive Director was appointed and all the Advisory Committees, both Regional and District, were also dissolved. This, of course, implied a fundamental change of course and a feeling approaching gloom descended on the staff of the Centre. The uncertainty regarding the future of the Centre which existed at the very top of the Centre s hierarchy now began to pervade the whole set-up. The very fact that the new Executive Director's appointment was envisaged as an interim one exacerbated this feeling and prevented effective long-term planning. With the return of civilian rule in September, 1969, another interim Executive Director was appointed for limited specific duties whilst the first interim Executive Director was relieved of his appointment. It was not until a substantive Executive Director was appointed in January, 1970, that the third phase of the long-term strategy began to be implemented.

An Advisory Committee consisting of individuals with some expertise in the work of the Centre was set up under the chairmanship of the new Executive Director to advise on the specific programmes to be carried out during the third phase.

All the members of the Programmes Advisory Committee were selected by the Executive Director in consultation with the Director of Programmes. It consisted originally of nine members of whom one was a woman educationist. Of the remaining eight consisted /two University of Ghana teachers /of in Sociology and Psychology, a senior Organizer in the Institute of Adult Education with wide experience in adult education, a Clerk to the National Assembly also with wide experience in adult education, a student at the University of Ghana, who had attracted attention with a newspaper article on how to improve the Centre's work, and the Adviser to the Executive Director from the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation.

The remaining two were the Director of Programmes and the Executive Director. Two more members were later added, one of whom was the Chief Resettlement Officer of the Volta River Authority. His great experience in persuading villagers to move from their traditional homes threatened by the rising waters of the Volta was found to be very useful to the work of the Centre. The other was the editor of the Graphic, the daily with the widest circulation in the country. This was done to persuade the paper to give understanding publicity to the programmes of the Centre. The programmes envisaged included Local Government, Popular Economics, Social Security, Bribery and Corruption, Tribalism and Nation-Building. A start was made with Local Government; this was followed by Individual Rights and Responsibilities, which was in turn followed by Tribalism and Nation-Building. The Centre has just embarked on a programme on National Discipline. This will be followed later by another programme on Popular Economics.

All the programmes of the Centre are directed to both the literate and the illiterate, the urban and the rural citizen, the young and the old. This of course has profound implications for the approach the Centre has to adopt in its programmes. Heavy emphasis is put on lectures, but every attempt is also made to get people to participate in the activities of discussion groups, debates and symposia. These are conducted not only in English but also in all the major vernaculars of the country. Lectures are almost always followed by discussions. Because of the audience the Centre aims at there is a heavy reliance on audio-visual aids. For every programme, posters are designed with appropriate slogans to catch the attention of busy people and to drive home the essential message the programme attempts to get across. The slogans, again, are not only in English but also in the major vernaculars.

The programmes of the Centre are not conceived in any narrow spirit, and it is not only the officials of the Centre who do the teaching work involved. The platform of the Centre is open to all and sundry - at least those who believe in the democratic message of the Centre. There exist at Regional offices of the Centre lists of speakers, people who are willing to offer their services free to the Centre. The Centre's programmes are further divided into three-week programmes centering around definite themes and the speakers are approached by the Regional and District Organisers of the Centre as and when appropriate. A cursory glance at the daily papers or a little attention to news bulletins on the radio shows at once that there is virtually no political censorship of speakers. Opposition M.Ps and leading members of the Opposition generally have indeed played a prominent part in the work of the Centre from its foundation to the present.

It is not always possible, however, to get the speakers that the programme or the particular theme being dealt with at a particular time demands. The officials and especially the Organisers of the Centre, at both Regional and District levels, are therefore compelled from time to time to mount the platform themselves and to educate the people in the subject matter of the programme in hand. It is therefore necessary to ensure that the Organisers have a certain competence to discharge this particular function. Before a programme is started all the Organisers are brought together for a short briefing course. During this course people who are particularly well-informed on the subject matter of the programme to be carried out are invited to address the participants on various aspects of the theme. It is hoped that in this way the Organisers will be a little less uninformed and therefore better equipped for their role. The lectures delivered during the briefing courses are usually cyclostyled and distributed to the Organisers so that they can

constantly consult them whenever they are compelled to speak. They are also available to other speakers.

The question of literature is a difficult one for the Centre. The lectures delivered at the briefing courses. which are cyclostyled and distributed to the Centre's Organisers are not enough. The Centre has tried to make booklets out of these lectures, and it is hoped that soon two booklets, The Problems of Local Government in Ghana and The Ombudsman, will be published as part of the Centre's Civic Education Series. So far, two titles in this Series have been published, Your Rights and Responsibilities As A Ghanaian Citizen and The Police In a Democratic Society. The titles in the Civic Education Series are fairly substantial volumes which, it is hoped, will be found useful by the citizen for a long time to come. The Centre also publishes slighter volumes, in the nature of pamphlets which, although dealing with important aspects of the country's social life, cannot be published as full books or booklets. Moreover, every attempt is made to keep these as cheap as possible. The titles which have been published in this Series so far all cost not more than 15np. Some of the titles are: Problems of Tribalism and Nation-Building, Social Security Scheme, Democratic Rights and Responsibilities, Your Questions Answered. Two of these pamphlets, We Must Unite and Everyone are plays highlighting the themes of tribalism and nation-building, and individual rights and responsibilities. In addition to these, handbills restating the teaching of the Centre on any particular theme are printed in both English and the vernaculars and distributed in their thousands throughout the country.

The formation of discussion groups was always integral to the manner of operation of the Centre. Very early in the life of the Centre the formation of these Clubs was widely encouraged. About the middle of 1969, steps were

taken to convert the discussion groups into Civic Clubs. The idea behind these Civic Clubs was that they would be voluntary organizations which would attempt to have permanent members who would give continuity to the work of the Centre in every nook and cranny of the society. They would be formed in the cities, towns and villages; in educational institutions, from Universities to Middle Schools; and in work places. The record of the Civic Clubs is not unsatisfactory. They have a constitution which provides a flexible structure within which they operate. They are entirely voluntary in that membership is not in any way enforced either by the Centre or any other authority. Nor are they in any sense an integral part of the Centre's structure. They elect their own officers and are entirely free in choosing their programme of activity. The relationship between the Centre and the Civic Clubs is like the relationship between father and son. The Centre's Organizers give birth to these Clubs, but once formed the Clubs are run entirely by their own elected officers. The Organisers of the Centre are always ready to help by arranging for speakers if asked to do so and sometimes by giving secretarial help. The Centre encourages the Clubs to undertake activities which are connected with its current programmes, but even here there is no compulsion whatever. By the end of the 1969/70 year there were in all 502 Civic Clubs throughout the country. About 160 of these were active during the year, thanks to good leadership. Most of the successful Clubs tend to be in the educational institutions especially Secondary Schools and Training Colleges, where the help of experienced tutors is a vital factor in their success.

A new departure in the history of Civic Clubs was made in March this year when a week-end Conference of leaders of the most active Civic Clubs throughout the country was held in Tamale in the Northern part of Ghana. The purpose of the

conference was to focus the attention of the participants on the problems of national integration. It is hoped that more of such conferences will be held and that in this process the attention of a large section of the youth of the country will be directed to pressing social and economic problems facing the country.

A note on Civic Corners will not be out of place. In the early years of the Centre it was decided to have civic corners up and down the country. A civic corner was conceived as a sort of Hyde Park corner to be found in every town or village in the country where regular discussions on national and local issues would be held in a completely unfettered atmosphere, thereby encouraging freedom of speech and critical appreciation of problems facing the society. Unfortunately, it cannot be said that the experiment has been a success. In the early days when the first civic corner in Accra was associated with traditional drumming and dancing, which gave the opportunity for ethnic groups to mingle, there was evidence that it enjoyed some popularity. For reasons which are not entirely clear it is only in Takoradi, a highly urbanised town in the Western part of Ghana, that a civic corner has taken root. There, every Wednesday there is an open-air meeting on a chosen theme. A prominent citizen or the Centre's Regional Organiser addresses the meeting. After this the platform is entirely free for anyone whatever who wants to make a contribution or to ask a question. The atmosphere is one of free interplay of ideas and different points of view. The only other place where a civic corner continues to enjoy some lease of life is a small town - Shama - in the Western Region not far from Takoradi. It is hoped that more civic corners will be opened in different parts of the country.

The heart and soul of the Centre is its programmes. The programmes therefore deserve to be understood in depth.

A consideration of one of these will help achieve such understanding, and the programme on local administration would be as good as any for this purpose.

The programme on local administration was the first to be launched in the third phase of the long-term strategy of the Centre beginning in January, 1970. It was selected because of three reasons. First, democratic local government is almost universally admitted to be the basis, the training ground, for a country-wide democracy. Secondly - and this weighed even more with the authorities of the Centre - local government was looked upon as the instrument of development in the rural areas where the vast majority of the people live. If their lives were to improve, if there was to be increasing meaning in their lives, then the rural masses in particular should understand the problems of local government and thus be in a position to use its machinery for local development. Thirdly, local government had been an unmitigated failure in the past. It was necessary to digest the reasons for this failure so as to be in a position to improve the local government system for the future. The specific targets set by the Centre were stated in the introduction to the programme:-

(a) Readiness and willingness to pay rates.
(b) Willingness and preparedness to contribute in communal labour.
(c) Determination in choosing able and honest Councillors to the Local Council.
(d) Ready co-operation.
(e) Economic and social development of all rural and urban places.

By the end of January, 1970, the decision had been taken to undertake the programme on local administration. Preparation had to be made on three fronts: the programme itself, the briefing course, and posters. The first two were the province, almost exclusively, of the Programmes

Department; the third was shared between the Programmes Department and the Technical Section. The programme, after detailed discussions at headquarters of drafts submitted by the Programmes Department, consisted of lists of topics for lectures, symposia and debates and a list of questions for discussions. These were grouped around four themes: historical background and structure of local government; finance and development of local government; functions of local government; and general matters of local government. The themes were to be points of concentration for periods of three weeks each. The whole programme thus was to last twelve weeks.

It would be tedious to select topics and questions under all the different themes for illustration. We confine ourselves to the historical background and structure of local government. Some of the lecture topics were as follows:- "Development of Local Government through Indirect Rule"; "Traditional Systems of Local Government", "Suitability of our Local Administrative structure to our needs" and "The need for improvement in Local Administration and how to set about it". The topics for the lectures were then broken down for more detailed consideration in symposia. Under "Development of the notion of Local Government", for example, the following were to be considered:-

(a) Indirect Rule of the Colonial era.
(b) Introduction of Municipal Councils.
(c) Party system in Municipal Elections.

Under "The Basis for determining District Councils" the following were provided:-

(a) District Councils determined on ethnic groupings.
(b) District Councils determined on the basis of economic viability.

Detailed topics suggested for debates included:- "When Local Government was in charge of Native Authorities it

appeared to be more efficient than when it came under elected representatives"; "The absence of communal labour during the old regime caused the absence of development in our local areas"; "Local Councils are adequate to cope with local problems of government" and "District Councils should not be determined on the basis of ethnic affiliations but on the basis of economic viability." Examples of questions for discussion were: "What is the present structure of Local Government in Ghana. Is the present structure suitable?" "Is the idea of Committee system in Local Government really practicable and useful?" "How should the membership of a Committee of a Local Authority be recruited?" "What, in your view, are the merits and demerits of the structure recommended by the Greenwood Commission?".

Once the outlines of the programme were known the next thing to tackle was the briefing course. This was designed to ensure that the Centre's staff were familiar with the problems of local government in the country. It was held away from the capital in Kumasi, which is in the central part of the country. The participants, all the district and regional organizers plus senior staff from headquarters, were camped in a residential teacher-training college, Wesley College, for a week, from Monday to Saturday. During this week they heard ten lectures on various aspects of local government from well-informed people mostly from the Civil Service, the University of Ghana and research institutes. These dealt with the structure of local government, its functions, rights and responsibilities of the citizen in relation to local government, relationship between central and local governments, local government finance, rural development, the new Local Administration Bill, etc. Every lecture was followed by a lively discussion. The discussions were then followed up in seminars into which all the participants had been grouped. The participants left for

their stations on Saturday, 18th April. The programme itself was launched on May 4, some two weeks later.

The two weeks between the end of the briefing course and the beginning of the programme were a period of intense preparations. The lectures had to be duplicated for distribution to all organizers, and the intention was to ensure that they were all ready in the hands of organisers before the beginning of the programme. This was not fully achieved. Much the same could be said of the posters. In all six different posters were designed for the programme, and 10,000 of each were printed. All posters carried the Centre's badge at the top, either in the right-hand or the left-hand corner with the Centre's name prominently printed over it. One poster showed a man carrying a big, rather elongated football on which were written the amenities which local government should provide: school, water, market, road, sanitation, post office, health centre, electricity and police station. Over the football was prominently written: PROBLEMS. The man himself was labelled "local council", and below him also prominently written was SOLUTIONS. At the very bottom were spelt out the solutions: payment of levy, good councillors, communal labour, using donations wisely, government grants, councils' co-operation, trading enterprises, and loans. A second poster was about communal labour. It showed picture above of villagers putting up a building by means of communal labour and another picture below showing a completed post office, public conveniences, a school and a stand-pipe grouped on the sides of a nicely-cut street. Between the two pictures was written: COMMUNAL LABOUR, and at the foot of the lower picture: BETTER AMENITIES. The message was clear: through communal labour better amenities would be made available. The same message was depicted in another poster. This poster showed two lines of rate-payers converging on a rate-collector at a table receiving the rates into a long receptacle that pierced

through the middle of the table. From the foot of the receptacle radiated lines to ten circles arranged in a rectangular form. In each circle was a drawing illustrating a particular amenity which can be provided by local councils. Underneath the whole drawing was written: REGULAR LEVIES, BETTER AMENITIES. A fifth poster tried to depict the right-type of chairman a council must have. In it there was a meeting of a Council and the Chairman, too immaculately dressed for a chairman of a council, was addressing the counsillors. Another poster simply showed a pot-bellied and cigar-smoking chairman of a local council making off with the proceeds of Council rates whilst angry rate-payers chase him with sticks and cudgels. A similar message was conveyed in another poster which was too late to be used. Preparation for the programme also included preparation of puppetry materials. By this time the Centre had received a puppet van from the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation. The Arts Council, which had for some time been dealing in puppetry especially on television, had puppet teams one of which it loaned to the Centre. They prepared materials on local administration, which were to be shown throughout the regions during the programme.

Finally the programme was launched on 4th May by the Director of Programmes at a press conference in Accra. In a statement he explained the reasons for choosing local administration for the first programme in the implementation of the third stage of the Centre's long-term strategy. He also outlined what the Centre hoped to achieve by this programme. This was the signal the regional offices were waiting for in order to launch the programme in their regions. Before the launching by the Director of Programmes there had been a television programme on the Centre on the 1st of May. Unfortunately, some regional offices of the Centre took this to be the signal and raced to launch the regional-programmes in the next few days. In most cases the launching of the regional programmes were followed by launchings at

district levels as well. From this time onwards the programme could be said to be in full swing.

The Centre has two regional organizers in each regional office, one male, one female. With the country divided for the purposes of the Centre into nine regions, there are eighteen regional organizers. Every regional office has to submit a monthly report on the Centre's activities in its region. After the campaign on Local Administration all regional offices were also requested to submit evaluation reports on the whole programme in their various regions. It is thus possible to give a picture of the campaign as a whole based on these monthly and evaluation reports.

At the time of the Local Administration programme there were fifty-one Centre districts in the whole country. It would appear that there were two to three meetings each week in each district. These meetings were organized either by district organizers themselves or in conjunction with the regional organisers in a particular district. The meetings took the form mostly of lectures, but there were a good number of symposia and discussions. It was difficult to arrange debates mainly because of the difficulty of securing speakers. But this was made up for by other means. Sometimes there were radio discussions on local radios. Plays written locally were also sometimes staged to emphasize some aspects of Local Administration e.g. the necessity to pay rates. The puppet shows were particularly popular. In one Region the puppet team gave forty shows, and could sometimes draw a crowd of nearly 2,000. This number may be compared to an average of 200 to 300 people who attended meetings of the Centre. On special occasions like market days in the rural areas, very large crowds may be drawn. One Regional organizer reported having drawn a crowd of over 4,000 on a market day in Tamale, the capital of the Northern Region, some having come with their wares for safe-keeping. Audiences at the Centre's activities during this campaign comprised people

from all walks of life: farmers, teachers, civil servants, chiefs, lawyers and even children. The children are particularly impressed with the puppet shows. The speakers were drawn predominantly from the ranks of Civil Servants, especially District Administrative Officers, Secondary School teachers, Training College tutors, Lawyers, Members of Parliament, both Government and Opposition, and Chairmen of Local Council Management Committees. Chiefs and Traditional Elders figured prominently as chairmen for functions.

Was the campaign worth it? That is not an easy question to answer. From the figures given above, it may be safely said that in the twelve weeks of the campaign the Centre involved about 310,000 people in its lectures, symposia, discussions, puppet shows and sometimes plays. A much wider audience than is indicated by the figures would of course have been reached through the Centre's bright posters and handbills, news bulletins on radio and television, newspapers, and special Centre programmes on radio and television, and school audiences are excluded from the figure. Nevertheless the reach of the Centre's field staff could easily have been trebled if district organisers could have had their own means of transport. During the campaign they had to use the famous "mummy" lorries plying between villages and the main towns to arrange programmes and also to execute them. The mummy lorries are completely unreliable when time is of the essence of a programme.

There is more positive audience, however, of the effect of the programme. First, the flood of suggestions for improving the local government system of the country that came from the audiences across the country. One Regional Organizer summarized the suggestions as follows:-

1. That partisan politics should be got rid off during the election of councillors.

2. That duties of councillors should be categorically stated to prevent them from interfering with council staff in their execution of duties.
3. That the idea of "son of the soil" should be discarded with so as to employ only efficient personnel in the various councils.
4. That people with proven character, disregarding their political affiliations, should be voted into the councils.
5. That the government should decentralize the P.W.D. and the Water and Sewarage Corporation to ensure the effective execution of their projects.
6. That the said decentralization should not only be at regional level but on the district level as well, if the Government policy on rural development was to succeed.
7. That landlords should collect the basic rates of tenants.
8. That more traditional members should serve on local councils than elected members.
9. That special rates should not be deposited in the councils' treasury, but be kept by the town development committees.
10. That development projects should be evenly distributed among the villages constituting council areas.

The second positive evidence of the impact of the campaign was a compalaint lodged by the Ministry of Local Administration to the Centre after the campaign. The Ministry complained that reports from various parts of the country indicated that rate-payers were refusing to pay their basic rates on the ground that the councils were misappropriating their funds. Members of Local Council Management

Committees attributed this to the local government campaign by the Centre for Civic Education. The attribution was only partially correct, if at all; but there could be no greater evidence of the impact of the campaign than the complaint.

The Centre interpretes its basic objectives in such broad, flexible terms that it is hardly different from other organisations which are dedicated to educating the populace generally, outside the formal education system, in subjects of social, economic and political nature. The main difference here is that the Centre does not confine itself to adults only; it concentrates a lot of its energies on secondary schools and training colleges, sometimes even in elementary schools. It is definitely not an ideological institute. Its early history and its structure help to throw light on its essential nature.

The Early Years:

The original membership of the Board of Trustees of which the Chairman of the N.L.C. himself was the Patron was eleven, and was nominated by the National Liberation Council; four more, of whom three were women, were later added. Of these fifteen two were members of the ruling National Liberation Council; five, including the Chairman, were members of the advisory Political Committee of the N.L.C.; and one was the Attorney-General. The rest did not occupy any official position of a political nature. By profession three were full-time academics, one was an army officer, one a police officer, two lawyers, one a trade unionist, one a businessman and at that time Chairman of the Water and Sewerage Corporation, one an accountant, one a medical practitioner, two educationists, one an ex-organiser of extra-mural studies at the University, and one the widow of a prominent judge. Such was the composition of the Board which was to formulate policies for the Centre, appoint its workers and organisers and supervise its work generally.

The Centre was meant to be independent of the government, with its own governing body. It was even laid down in the inaugural address that it was to be a voluntary institution though it is not clear in what sense it was to be voluntary. The officers of the Centre were not to be either Civil Servants or Public Officers, but the Government was prepared to second officers to work with it. The Government would also provide a subvention and offices for the Centre. As the Chairman of the N.L.C. put it,

> "The Board will lay down policies, oversee the work of the Centre and appoint its own officers and organisers. The Centre will not be a government organisation, but a voluntary institution. This is to ensure that it will have the independence of thought and approach required for its effective operation.
>
> The officers of the Centre will neither be Civil Servants nor Public Officers....."

This then was the constitutional set-up of the Centre at the beginning. In his introductory statement on the manner of operation of the Centre the Chairman of the Board of Trustees filled in some of the details of the inner structure. At headquarters in Accra there were to be full-time officers, and at every regional headquarters there were to be two Regional Organizers - one man, one woman - to co-ordinate work on the regional level and give guidance and direction to the activities of the groups. Later District Organizers were appointed, one to each of the fifty-one administrative districts of the country. Advisory Committees were also set up, one regional advisory committee for each region and one district advisory committee for each district. It was decided by the Board that each regional advisory committee should consist of eleven members, seven being men and four women. Appointments were to be made by the Board itself without reference to the N.L.C., who were to be informed only

of the names of the members. Paramount Chiefs and other members of traditional authorities as well as people generally of influence within their communities, especially in the rural areas, were to be brought into them. As a matter of fact, the names of the regional advisory committee members were submitted to the Board and were approved after changes had been made in them.

For three-and-a-half years after the founding of the Centre there was no proper legal basis for its existence; the Inaugural Broadcast by the Chairman of the N.L.C. remained the only authority for the Centre's existence. This was not deliberate, at least initially. As early as September, 1967, following a lively debate in the press about the constitutional position and financing of the Centre, steps were taken to have a proper legal basis for it. On the advice of the Attorney-General, steps were taken, to incorporate the Centre under The Trustees (Incorporation) Act, 1962 (Act 106). This was because the Centre was regarded, in conformity with the injunctions of the Chairman of the N.L.C. in his inaugural broadcast, as a voluntary association or body set up for an educational purpose. Dr.E.V.C. deGraft-Johnson, a lawyer and a member of the Board of Trustees, actually produced, at the request of the Chairman of the Board, proposals for incorporation under The Trustees Act in March, 1968. However, it was immediately realized that incorporation under The Trustees Act would not suit the nature of the Centre since the latter was strictly not a voluntary body brought into being by private individuals but rather a body established by the National Liberation Council to be controlled by an independent Board of Trustees. It was thought that the best way of doing this was by a Decree of the N.L.C. after the pattern of royal charters. Accordingly, the Attorney-General's Department was asked to prepare a draft Decree for discussion by the Board of Trustees and submission to the N.L.C. for final

approval and promulgation. The draft was ready by the end of May, 1968, but the Board was unable to deal with it until October and it was not until the following month that Board's recommendations for amendment were sent to the Attorney-General's Department for incorporation into the draft Decree. By the middle of December the Attorney-General's Department had returned the final draft to the Board. Unfortunately, the Board could not hold another meeting until it was dissolved. Nevertheless, discussions among individual members of the Board enabled the General Administrator to send final comments of the Board on the draft to the Attorney-General's Department in January, 1969. The comments were accompanied by a strong plea that the draft be promulgated without delay. Yet by the end of May the draft had not been promulgated as a Decree although final action in the Attorney-General's Department had been taken as early as the first week in February. Meanwhile the constitution of the N.L.C. had changed and the Attorney-General had also been changed. The Board of Trustees itself was abolished as from the beginning of May. Its Chairman had already announced his intention to resign on the lifting of the ban on political parties. The draft Decree died a quiet death.

The failure to give a legal basis to the Centre before the dissolution of the first Board of Trustees may be attributed to two factors. The first was due to the inevitable discussions that caused the draft Decree to move constantly between the Attorney-General's Department and the Board of Trustees. The process, as we have seen, took approximately one year, from the middle of March, 1968, when the Chairman of the Board of Trustees asked the Attorney-General's Office to prepare a draft Decree for legalizing the Centre and the first week in February, 1969, when the draft was finalized for submission to the Chairman of the N.L.C. If the period of discussion is extended to include discussions on the first attempt to incorporate the Centre

under The Trustees Act beginning in September, 1967, then the process took about one-and-a-half years. The process, in other words, necessarily took time.

The second and more important factor why the legal instrument for establishing the Centre failed to materialize may be broadly described as politics. It throws a lot of light on pressures and tensions to which the Centre was subjected in its early years. A fundamental confusion about the role of the Centre can be detected from the very beginning of its life. Some people took the view that the Centre was essentially an interim measure belonging to the transitional period of the N.L.C. It was seen as an institution whose main function was to prepare the electorate for a democratic civilian rule to follow that of the N.L.C. The C.P.P. had for years systematically brainwashed the electorate of democratic ideas, subverted moral values and inculcated cynicism and contempt for politics. The C.C.E. was to re-educate the people in democratic values and restore political sanity. This was to be done during the period of the N.L.C. rule so that by the time of elections for return to civilian rule the electorate would be prepared. Would understand the vote and the conditions which generally make for the maintenance of the democratic system. The necessity for the C.C.E. would then end. This appeared to have been the view taken by the Chairman of the N.L.C. in his inaugural broadcast. "The National Liberation Council", he said, "firmly believes that during the transitional period of our Government, a nation-wide campaign for Civic Education is a vital need....." (My italics).

A contrary view was also held: that the Centre was to be a permanent feature of the country's political life. The need for political education, according to this view, was a continuing one and such education could not be left to political parties. The role of the Centre in dispensing non-partisan political education was indeed felt to have

been distorted by the absence of political parties. The Centre then would, far from folding up with the return of parties and a civilian regime, come into its own when its calm, judicious tones would ring brilliantly beside the din of party warfare. This was the view of the Chairman of the Board of Trustees.

Such a fundamental difference of view regarding the future of the Centre between two such vital figures in its set-up as the Chairman of the Board and its Patron, who was also Chairman of the N.L.C., and among members of the Board themselves also, could not but seriously affect the /there question whether/should be a legal instrument for the Centre or not. If the Centre was but a temporary institution appropriate only to the transitional period of government, then was there any need for a legal instrument? Could it not carry on as it had been doing for the rest of the transitional period and die a quiet death on return to civilian rule?

There were other political controversies which surrounded the work of the Centre and which helped prevent the enactment of the legal instrument. As early as October, 1967, serious criticisms of the Centre had begun appearing in the newspapers, the radio, the television and public lectures. From the point of view of getting the legal instrument enacted the least important of these criticisms were those centering on matters relating to management and organisation. A more important criticism had to do with the Centre's connexions with the Government. It was feared, that with members of the N.L.C. and the Attorney-General sitting on the Board of Trustees and with the Government providing most of the funds, the Centre was under the thumb of the N.L.C.

The most important of the criticisms related to the chairmanship of the Board and the purpose and motives for establishing the Centre in the first place. Some critics of

the Centre wondered whether there was not a motive for establishing the Centre other than that officially advanced. They seemed to believe that the Centre was engineered into existence to promote somebody or some people's political interests; in particular, they wondered whether the Centre was not another Ideological Institute whose function was to ram down the throats of unsuspecting citizens the ideology of a political group. All this of course centred around the position of the chairman of the Board of Trustees. - Dr.K.A.Busia had been a consistent opponent of the politics of the C.P.P. since he entered the Legislative Assembly in 1951. He was from the beginning particularly critical of the dictatorial tendencies of the C.P.P., and as leader of the Opposition United Party he was forced into exile in 1959. Whilst in exile he continued to oppose and organize against the C.P.P. government. After the coup of February, 1966, he returned home to head the advisory Political Committee of the N.L.C. and later the National Advisory Committee. He never hid his intention to form and lead another political party, when the ban on political parties was lifted. It was his political past and his future intention which were claimed to be incompatible with his chairmanship of the Centre. It was suggested by the critics that he was using his position as the Chairman of the Centre to build up his political future, that whilst his political opponents were debarred from political activity he had a free rein and that the Centre was in fact the ideological school for the Chairman. Suggestions were even made that the whole Centre should be dismantled and its work handed over to the Social Welfare Department which already had the machinery for reaching the villages. Seldom was any serious proof provided for the allegations, but the criticisms were so persistent that they were echoed on the Board of Trustees. When it came to the crunch, the critics were hard put to it to pin-point the aspects of the chairman's conduct which

were reprehensible. The Board decided however in November, 1967, that in view of the criticisms it would approve all appointments to the Centre. Prior to that, appointments were made by the Chairman after interview and after clearance with the Office of the N.L.C. and the Establishment Secretariat. An attempt to remove some of the members of the advisory committees on the ground that they had been members of the United Party were beaten back.

The critics of the Centre were naturally not happy with giving legal backing to the Centre, and some of these critics were within the N.L.C. itself. As the country approached civilian rule the criticisms increased in both volume and astringency. People were jockeying for positions and groups were lining up behind one potential leader or other. The chairman's political opponents, not excluding those on the N.L.C. were becoming extremely nervous of his connexion with the Centre. They thought the Centre was a ready-made machine which was going to be used by the Chairman in the electoral battle which was looming ahead. Not only was the legal instrument not forthcoming, but the advisory committees, both regional and district, were dissolved unceremoniously with the Board of Trustees when the ban on political parties was lifted.

For some of the above reasons, the Chairman of the first Board of Trustees had expressed a view that the Legal Instrument would have to await the return of a civilian Parliament. But whilst the Centre was headed by an interim Executive Director not much progress could be made in getting the Legal Instrument passed. It was not until a substantive Executive Director was appointed in January, 1970, that the pieces were picked up again. The Instrument which had been prepared and considered by the first Board of Trustees was brought up to date by the new Executive Director and submitted to the Cabinet through the Prime Minister's Office. After consideration and further amendments by the

Cabinet it was submitted to the Attorney-General's Office for legal drafting by the Parliamentary draftsman. This was finally done in consultation with the Executive Director, and the Bill was at long last published on 10th September, 1970 and submitted to Parliament on 10th November, 1970. It became law as the Centre for Civic Education Act (Act 353) on January 12, 1971, when it received the Presidential assent.

The Present Structure:

The Act sets up a Board of Trustees as the governing body of the Centre. The Board is charged with the duty of carrying out the functions of the Centre, determining its general policies and generally overseeing the Centre's work. The Board is responsible for approving the Centre's annual budget and has vested in it, in trust for carrying out the objects of the Centre, all the funds, assets, property and rights of the Centre.

Although emergency meetings of the Board can be held, it is ordinarily expected to meet at least once a quarter only. It is not likely that it will meet often; it is not likely therefore that it will be actively involved in the control of the day-to-day affairs of the Centre. This latter function is entrusted by the Act to the Executive Committee. The functions of the Executive Committee, in the words of the Act, are:

(a) to ensure that the policies laid down by the Board are duly carried out;
(b) to advise the Executive Director in respect of the carrying out of such policies;
(c) to issue general regulations for the running of the Centre;
(d) to appoint and dismiss staff of the Centre.

The Act forbids the Executive Committee to interfere in the day-to-day affairs of the Centre, but it empower it to

suspend any action of the Executive Director which it deems wrong or contrary to the policies of the Board and to refer the action to the Board for decision. To carry out its functions the Committee has to meet at least once a month.

The Executive Committee is a committee of the Board, but the Board has no control over its membership. The Act lays it down that the Committee should comprise the Executive Director, who should be the chairman, and the Ghanaian representatives on the Board of the Universities, the Institute of Adult Education, the People's Educational Association, the Christian Council, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Muslim Council. The Board's hands are clearly tied, and there may be serious difficulties if any of the representatives turn out not to be a Ghanaian since the Act does not say that these representatives must be Ghanaians. It is worthy of notice that when the Centre for Civic Education Bill was published the provision regarding the membership of the Executive Committee was more flexible. Clause 10(1) of the Bill simply said that the Executive Committee "shall comprise the Executive Director and not more than six other trustees elected by the Board." It was during the Consideration Stage of the Bill in Parliament that an Opposition member moved that the clause be amended to its present form. Two reasons were advanced for the amendment: to ensure that the Centre is a truly non-political, independent body dedicated to purely educational purposes and to ensure that, in view of the academic aspects of the Centre's work, only people of the requisite qualifications and experience sit on the Executive Committee. The argument is worth quoting in full:-

> We on this side of the House are anxious that the Centre for Civic Education should be and should remain a non-political educational body. It is therefore essential that trustees serving on the executive committee should be representatives of

independent agencies. Civic education entails local surveys, research, enquiries and investigations and these..... can only be undertaken by people with the appropriate qualifications and experience. The purpose of this amendment is to get on the executive committee representatives of the right calibre. The representatives should be Ghanaians. I am opposed to expatriates serving on the executive committee.....*

The Executive Committee is not the only authority with functions in respect of the Centre which is the creature of the Board of Trustees. The Committee's chairman, the Executive Director, is also a creature of the Board, which appoints him by a resolution supported by not less than two-thirds of its members. The Board also determines the conditions and terms of his appointment. In a sense the Executive Director is the most important person in the whole set-up of the Centre. Subject to the general control of the Board and to the rules issued by the Executive Committee, the Executive Director is responsible for staffing the Centre and for carrying out its day-to-day functions. He is in particular made responsible by the Act for the following:-

(a) the assignment of duties to, the supervision of the work of and the maintenance of discipline in respect of all the staff of the Centre,

(b) the organisation of the administrative structure of the Centre as he thinks appropriate.

Under the Act, therefore, the Executive Director is

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*(Parl.Debates, Second Series, Vol.5 No. 11, Col. 420, Tuesday, 24th Nov.)

responsible to three authorities only: the Act, the Board of Trustees and the Executive Committee. He is responsible to no one else. It is important to stress this point because the interim period between the return to civilian rule, and the setting up of the Board tended to obscure his position. During the rule of the N.L.C. the Centre operated under the Office of the N.L.C. itself for the purposes of financial accountability. This did not mean that the N.L.C. interfered with the detailed operations of the Centre or that it dictated the Centre's policies. These were the functions of the first Board of Trustees, and they discharged them without interference from the N.L.C. or any other authority outside the Board itself.

But by the time of the return to civilian rule in September, 1969, there was no Board of Trustees; there was no legal instrument; there was only an Interim Executive Director; and there was no body or authority corresponding to the N.L.C. It was necessary to bring into being the legal instrument in the form of an Act of Parliament, yet until this was done the Centre had to continue its work, if the new government was agreeable. The new Prime Minister, Dr.K.A. Busia, who was also the Chairman of the dissolved Board of Trustees, never had doubts of the continued usefulness of the Centre. He decided that the Prime Minister's Office should be responsible for the Government's "relations with the Centre for Civic Education."* Whilst casting around for a substantive Executive Director he appointed the Secretary to the N.L.C. on the eve of the return to civilian rule interim Executive Director to carry out a special assignment. On January 1, 1970, a substantive Executive Director was appointed on secondment from the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, for two years.

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*(Ghana Gazette, No.108, 15th December,1969)

The hands of the Board, under the Act, are entirely free in determining the person to be Executive Director. The only limitation the Act puts on this power of the Board is that the person to be appointed an Executive Director must be qualified to be a trustee of the Centre. But the qualifications of a trustee of the Centre as laid down by the Act are few and essentially negative. No person is qualified to be a trustee if he is adjudged to be of unsound mind; or if he has been sentenced to death or to a term of imprisonment exceeding twelve months without the option of a fine or has been convicted of an offence involving dishonesty or moral turpitude - unless five years or more have elapsed since the date of conviction or the end of the sentence or he has in each case been granted a free pardon; or he is an undischarged bankrupt or insolvent under any law in Ghana or any other country.

Clearly the position of the Board is crucial to the future of the Centre. Whether the delicate balance that the Centre has to maintain amidst the ups and downs of party politics and the din and clash of political warfare will in fact be maintained will depend almost entirely on the integrity and the political sense of the Board. This, in its turn, will depend almost entirely on the membership of the Board. It is recognized that if any organization, be it a political party or not, were to gain control of the Board it would be difficult for the Board to maintain the necessary balance. The membership of the Board is therefore carefully worked out to ensure its independence. Three main groups of members are provided for by the Act: ten Members of Parliament, fourteen representatives of independent organisations whose functions are more or less closely associated with the work of the Centre and seven senior officials of Ministries or Public Corporations whose work is also more or less closely associated with that of the Centre. The Executive Director is also a member and

the President appoints two other members. There are thus thirty-four members of the Board.*

The ten members of the National Assembly are to be nominated by the Selection Committee of the National Assembly. That is the best way of ensuring that the ten Members will reflect all shades of opinion in the House, for the Committee follows not only a convention but a constitutional rule that this should be the case with all committees appointed by it on behalf of the House. It is not likely that the majority party will seize all the National Assembly seats on the Board of Trustees. Even if it did, it would still be in a minority on the Board. The Act makes it clear that the fourteen representatives of the independent organisations should be nominated by the organisations themselves. Of the public bodies represented five are Ministries and although the Act makes it clear that their representatives should be senior members of their staff and should be nominated by the bodies themselves, it is also clear that Ministries come directly under party-appointed Ministers and if they meant to control the nominations they could easily do so. The same point could be made, though not equally strongly, of the Department of Social Welfare; it would be even less true of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, which is an independent public body. It is the fear of the possibility of control by Ministers, and hence by the

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*(The fourteen independent organizations are the Christian Council, the Roman Catholic Church, the Muslim Council, the National House of Chiefs, the Trades Union Congress, the Ghana National Teachers Association, the Ghana National Youth Council, the Universities, the Institute of Adult Education, the People's Educational Association, National Women's Organisations, the National Union of Students, the National Farmers' Union, the Ghana Journalists Association. The seven Ministries are those responsible for the Interior, Education, Information, Justice and Local Administration. The Department of Social Welfare is also represented as well as the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation.)

government party, which caused Mr.Bliss Ackuaku, an Opposition M.P. and a persistent critic of the Centre for Civic Education, to move an amendment in Parliament during the Consideration Stage of the Bill with the intention of preventing the representatives of the public bodies from voting on the Board of Trustees. During the debate he said:

> "The fundamental question is, are civil servants strictly neutral? If the Centre should be free from governmental control the inclusion of civil servants should be regarded as anomalous. By all means senior representatives of the Ministries can serve on the Board of Trustees, but they should serve only as ex officio members. They may participate in debates, influence discussions, give advice, but they should not, I repeat they should not, be allowed to vote."*

It is clear, then, that the political independence of the Centre can be maintained only to the extent that there is genuine two-party system in the country. If ever there were to be a one-party system with its concomitant ideological uniformity in the country all the ten representatives of the National Assembly would belong to one party, and so would the seven representatives of the public bodies. Since the single-party system abolishes the independence of most voluntary organisations seven of the independent organisations and associations would most likely send representatives controlled by the government party.** With twenty-four of the Members of the Board under its control, the government party would then appoint both the Executive Director and the Executive Committee and control the policies of the Centre.

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*(Parl.Deb.Second Series, Vol.5 No.11, Tuesday, 24th Nov., 1970, Col.415-416)

**(The organisations are: the National House of Chiefs, the Trades Union Congress, the Ghana National Youth Council, the National Women's Organisations, the National Union of Students, the National Farmers' Union and the Ghana Journalists Association).

The Centre's independence would be at an end and its purpose would change from political education of a broad, flexible, liberal nature to ideological indoctrination of a narrow type.

Financing the Centre:

It is often asserted that if an institution is to be independent it must also be financially independent. The statement that he who pays the piper calls the tune has a natural common sense about it which makes it highly popular. For this reason, alone, if not for anything else an examination of the finances of the Centre would be useful.

At the beginning it was envisaged that the Centre would be financially self-supporting, and that it would not rely solely or predominantly on the government for financial support. It was thought that the Centre could finance itself from private donations, both foreign and local, of money and equipment. True enough, private donations have helped to sustain the Centre's activities financially. On the local side, one may mention the collections that used to be made at inaugurations of advisory committees. In conformity with general practice in the country, at inaugurations of some of the advisory committees plates would be passed round after an appeal for funds would have been made. Donations ranging from very small sums of money - sometimes as little as sixpence - to quite considerable sums could be made. The total realized varied from Region to Region and district to district, depending on the general wealth of the area, the degree of enthusiasm for the Centre, and sometimes, the popularity of the people selected to be members of the advisory committees. The monies collected in this way were kept at the regional or distric level as the case might be and used to support the work of the advisory committee members themselves or of the district and regional branch offices.

There are other minor sources of local funds available

for the work of the Centre. Membership dues are paid by members of the civic clubs. Monies realized from these fees are kept by the clubs themselves and are used to run the clubs, paying mainly for costs of correspondence. Civic club badges are also sold to members of the civic clubs.

The funds that have been raised locally have thus helped to run civic clubs and advisory committees on the district level. They have relieved the Centre as a whole of many a financial worry which it would have inevitably experienced but for them. But the monies raised in this way have been much less than those received from outside the country. The total amount of aid received from outside the country since the establishment of the Centre, apart from receipts from the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation, is $7,000.00. $4,000.00 of this was received in 1968, $2,000.00 from the International Association for Higher Education and Culture and $2,000.00 from The International Association of Cultural Freedom. The remaining $3,000.00 was a grant made by the Ford Foundation this year for the holding of a Week-end School of Civic Clubs Leaders on the problems of tribalism and nation-building. If these had been the only sources of outside aid to the Centre it would have been right to say that their contributions to the Centre's finances have been negligible. But these contributions have not been negligible, and this has been due to the quite substantial aid given to the Centre by the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The help given by the Foundation has been mainly in the nature of technical equipment and advice. The equipment has included a silk-screen printing press, an offset printing machine, a puppet van, a cinema van, a complete sound-recording studio, loud-speakers, generators, amplifiers, transistor megaphones, land-rovers and motor-cycles. In sum, the whole of the technical section of the Centre has been set up and donated by the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation. In

addition the Foundation also attaches to the Centre a paid technical adviser who heads the technical section and trains Ghanaians to handle the various technical problems that the Centre faces in the implementation of its programmes particularly in the audio-visual fields. It is difficult to calculate exactly, in monetary terms, how much aid has been given to the Centre by the Foundation; it may safely be put at many thousands of New Cedis. Nor does this cover the entire cost of the aid offered by the Foundation, since there are other forms of it offered which cannot be quantified. Thus the Foundation has sponsored educational tours of West Germany by officials of the Centre. Although the amount of money spent on these tours can be computed, the educational value cannot. Besides, a Resident Director of the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation is attached to the Centre as adviser to the Executive Director. The Centre pays nothing for his services.

Aid in kind has been given not only by the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation. Mention must also be made of the British Ministry of Overseas Development, which was also approached for help by the first Chairman of the Board from the very beginning of the life of the Centre. The Ministry helped in two fields: training and literature. An impressive number of books, many in several copies, were donated by the Ministry and were distributed to the Central reference library of the Centre itself and the regional offices at the beginning. The Ministry also offered scholarships to the Centre to enable it send field organisers to various Universities in the United Kingdom to train in the techniques of adult education. Three organisers benefited from these arrangements in the 1967-68 year, one in 1969-70 year and it is envisaged that three more will benefit from them in the current year.

It must be mentioned that not everybody has been happy with the aid the Centre has been receiving from outside the country. Criticism of this aspect of the Centre's work

started soon after its establishment. The criticism centres not around the volume or even the direction of aid, but around the possibility of strings being attached to the aid offered. It was felt that since the Centre is concerned with political education foreign influence, hiding behind aid, might be exerted to colour the political thinking of Ghanaians in a way that would not necessarily be in the interest of the country. The battle over this was fought not only in the press, on radio and television, but also at meetings of the Board of Trustees. It was felt in the end that these fears were exaggerated, and it was decided that to avoid any suspicions all forms of aid received by the Centre from whatever quarter should be publicised. Accordingly, the Annual Report of the Centre for 1969/70, the first to be published by the Centre, sets out in detail all aid so far received by the Centre. The appendices attached to the Report include one that spells out in detail all the aid given to the Centre by the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation.

In spite of all that has been said above about voluntary donations and aid from both inside and outside the country, it needs to be stressed that the total amount of money available to the Centre from these sources is very small compared with the amount available from the Government. In his inaugural broadcast the Chairman of the N.L.C. said: "Although the Centre for Civic Education will be self-supporting, such is the importance the National Liberation Council attaches to its work that as an encouragement, the Government will provide a subvention, offer accommodation for offices and second suitable personnel to help in the initial task of getting the Centre off to a good start." Accordingly, the Government approved the grant of N¢100,000.00 before the end of the 1966-67 financial year to enable the Centre set itself up. It has to be remembered that when the Centre was set up the financial year had only two months to run its course. Out of this, N¢86,030.00

was actually granted. For the 1967-68 year the Centre received N₵208,000.00, for 1968-69 it received N₵250,000.00, and for 1969-70 again N₵250,000.00 which was later in the year raised by the grant of a supplementary vote to N₵350,000.00. For the 1970-71 financial year a vote of N₵500,000.00 was allowed. Substantial as these grants may seem, they are nothing compared with either the estimates submitted to the government by the Centre or what the Centre considered to be its financial needs.

The sum of N₵1,402,030.00 given to the Centre since its inception does not, however, represent all the help given by the government. Mention must be made of the "hidden subsidies" also. As mentioned above, in the inaugural broadcast the Chairman of the N.L.C. promised not only subventions but also office accommodation and personnel. Thus almost all the Senior Officers who lay the foundation for the work of the Centre particularly in the fields of administration and organisation were civil servants seconded to the Centre by various Departments. The General Administrator, who was the administrative head of the Centre, the National Organisers, Regional Organisers, and the Personnel and Welfare Officer almost all continued to be seconded officers until January, 1970, when, with the appointment of a substantive Executive Director, it was decided that as far as possible all officials of the Centre should be the Centre's own permanent officials and not seconded officers. Secondment of these officers to the Centre was a form of hidden subsidy because upon secondment their mother Departments continued to pay their full salaries although the officers either had their salaries topped up to the level of the salaries attached to their posts at the Centre or, where their salaries were up to or above those attached to their new posts, they were given duty allowances. The total of these hidden subsidies was quite substantial.

Office accommodation given the Centre by the Government

has also represented a substantial hidden subsidy. An office block, at the Ministries in Acora, was made available temporarily to the Centre after it had maintained some kind of office at the old State House. The Centre of course paid nothing for this. However since the building, a groggy, old bungalow, had been allocated to the police who were itching to pull it down and put up a new police post where it stood, and since it could not accommodate all the staff anyway, the Centre was almost incessantly on the look-out for a more permanent accommodation. At last in the 1970-71 financial year a satisfactory building for this purpose was found for N¢200,000.00. It was the government which provided the money to pay for it. On the regional and district levels also the Centre depends heavily on the government for office accommodation. The Centre considers that regional and district offices should as far as possible be situated at or near the centre of the town so that there would be easy accessibility to them. For this type of accommodation the Centre would be prepared to pay rent. In a number of districts it has been possible to secure such accommodation, and the Centre pays an average of about N¢15.00 per month for it. In most districts, however, the Centre continues to depend on the munificence of District Administrative Officers, representatives on the district level of the central government, for not only office accommodation but even clerical and secretarial assistance. Both forms of aid, accommodation and clerical-secretarial, are of course free. On the regional level so far only one regional office has private accommodation for which the Centre pays rent. The rent is so high that if the practice were to be repeated at every regional capital there would be a strain on the Centre's finances. In the other regional capitals the Centre continues to use government accommodation for which it pays nothing. Not all the accommodation thus made available is convenient

from the point of view of reaching the public. It is therefore the intention of the Centre to acquire its own accommodation as near as possible to the centre of the town and, where necessary, to pay rent for it and thereby reduce the hidden subsidies.

The Future:

That, then, is what the Centre for Civic Education is. What of the future? The Centre will have attained its ideals and developed almost to perfection if it succeeds in making its presence felt throughout the land, if ordinary citizens perplexed by social, political and economic problems of development naturally turn to the offices of the Centre for intellectual consolation. This will happen if the Centre can be sure that its Organizers are in constant touch with the citizen, challenging him to reflect, directing his attention to important issues, drawing the best out of him for democratic solution to intricate problems. In other words, the Centre would have attained its ideal if it became a genuinely popular engine for mass enlightenment, bringing light to the unlettered and prodding the educated. The Centre is of course far from this goal, but there is every determination to advance to it.

To reach the goal, several new directions have to be explored and old ones followed with greater determination and enthusiasm. In this the Civic Clubs are seen as having an undoubtedly leading role to play. The Centre will press on with the formation of more and more Civic Clubs and will ensure that they are active, that they become active instruments of enlightened citizenship. The Centre looks forward to the day when Civic Clubs will meet regularly once a week for discussions, lectures, symposia and debates. It looks forward to the day when Civic Clubs will make travelling about Ghana to learn more and more about the country as a whole one of their vital contributions to

national integration. It looks forward to the day Civic Clubs will form the habit of inviting other club members from different Regions of the country for the purpose of increasing their knowledge of their host Regions. The Centre even looks forward to the day Civic Clubs will go beyond all this to undertake serious communal labour and to participate actively in social reconstruction particularly in rural areas.

The schools are a particularly fertile ground for spreading the work of Civic Education. The Centre intends in time to work out in co-operation with the Ministry of Education and teachers associations a programme of Civic Education for Primary and Secondary Schools. It is clear that Ghanaians need to be systematically instructed about their civic rights and responsibilities during the most formative stage in their lives. As a first step, the Centre will organise essay competitions amongst students and pupils throughout the country on topics relevant to Civic Education.

Voluntary Associations like the Churches, Youth Organizations, Women's Organizations and Trade Unions have from the beginning been recognized as important institutions with whom the Centre should co-operate for the purpose of advancing the work of Civic Education. We cannot claim, however, that we have made much progress in this direction. The Centre could, learning from the methods of the Centre for Political Education in the Federal Republic of Germany, vastly improve on its association with voluntary organizations. In this way it can reach a much greater audience than it does now.

The problem of getting the message down to the ordinary citizen is a continuing one. True, the audio-visual aids which the Centre uses extensively are designed to achieve this. There is, however, much room for improvement. Consideration has already been given to the idea of having

Civic Education columns in our daily newspapers. This idea will be further developed so that there will be always ready at hand information and analysis of pressing problems relating to Civic Education. Another area in which the Centre intends to extend its work is that of films and puppet shows. The Centre hopes to have one more cinema van and one more puppet van before the end of the year. In conjunction with the Film Corporation, the Centre intends to produce more Civic Education films which will be shown not only on the Centre's own cinema vans but also in ordinary cinema houses. Co-operation with the Arts Council in the training of Puppeteers is already being taken a stage further.

The Centre for Civic Education is still in its infancy. Its work is just getting off the ground. The problem of Civic Education in Ghana, as in many other countries, is a vast one, and the Centre has only scratched its surface. There is therefore no room for complacency. The Centre must press ahead until it is undoubtedly the visible hand-maiden of democracy and social progress.

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April, 1971

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